because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers, to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status, authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as experienced and skillful persons (abôn, i.e., "skillful"). Only those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery, i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/ that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symptoms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/ and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible. At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of these matters will prevail. All poisoning, just like all internal illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength in its evil which has been developed through medicine (see Section 12/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

4. Medical Knowledge.

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169 All internal afflictions which the Pangwe do not recognize -- especially malaria, as has been mentioned, as well as migraine (ayô-nlîr, that is, ewu in the head), and sudden, quickly passing cramps (elîfma) -- are conceived by them as ewu. That is to say, he thinks of them as illnesses caused by sorcery and fights them with all kinds of mystical remedies that for lack of space I cannot discuss in detail here.

The Pangwe have, however, more or less correctly identified and named a large number of illnesses, especially such as have externally visible symptoms. He names them in the order of their occurrence as follows:

1. nkâm IV = leprosy;
2. ojâl = elephantiasis of the scrotum;
3. ôyô IV (1) = serious form of dysentery, distinguished

1. But ôtit IV = meat, animal.

by a swollen belly (nkôm I);

4. kpîlî III kpâlî III = syphilis, only among the Jaunde (2);

2. As recently as 1891 Zenker was unable to observe any syphilis.

5. matî'da I = frambesia (3);

3. The pockmarks are designated by the Pangwe as mbâ da-mânâ (plural).

6. bendîme jâb (plural = elephantiasis of the legs;
7. ôl, pîd I = festering boils;
8. ekûl, ekô, mvîm IV = furuncles;
9. ndâb I, edîbî, ebân matî'dîk = gonorrhea; /170/
10. nbâla = swelling of the inguinal glands, bubo;

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11. ntlɛ́ I = eczema, Kroizo /Ed., ?/;
12. ewɔ̀ŋ́ = scabies;
13. akɔ́ = herpes on the head;
14. tɛ́n IV = herpes on the skin.

Towards less serious internal ailments, such as intestinal disturbances, stomach pains, toothaches, and so forth, the Pangwe behave with comparative equanimity. Although they have come to realize that some of these are caused by immoderate eating, spoiled food, and so forth, they do not give up their accustomed way of life. Instead of following a sensible diet, they try to cure themselves by medicines.

Of internal illnesses the Pangwe have terms for the following: okɔ́ŋ bɔ́k, apɛ́k, akɔ́ = epilepsy; okɔ́n-akɔ́le = back pains (of a nervous origin); okɔ́n mɔ́m = heart disease actually, then mental illnesses because it is believed that nervous ailments proceed from the heart; okɔ́n nɔ́' = headaches; aɔ́ = lung ailments (consumption?); ekɛ́ma, mbɔ́'mɔ́n I = common cold; okɔ́n kɔ́k = neck pain; ngɔ́ I, usually used in the plural = stomach aches, intestinal pains (when shooting pains are felt); okɔ́n madɔ́, okɔ́n anɔ́ = toothache; nnɛ́ I = rheumatic and nervous ailments; nnɛ́-akɔ́m = stomach-aches (when twitching pains are felt); nnɛ́-akɔ́k = rump pain; nnɛ́-uwɔ' = arm pain; okɔ́n makɔ́'-ekɔ́n = hemorrhoids; okɔ́n mɔ́s = eye diseases; nnɔ́k I, myɔ́s = inflammation of the eye; dɔ́k VII = sty in the eye.

The principal parasites are: eyɔ́' = eye worms; akɔ́ = sand fleas; and ngɔ́n IV = lice.

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As regards the origin of these afflictions, elephantiasis of the scrotum and the legs is attributed to sorcery; all other serious illnesses are attributed to the cult powers which impose them as a penalty for sins committed. At the head of this list is leprosy, whose name-ɛ́kɔm should therefore be derived from the root a ɛ́kɔm (see page 13 /Ed., not translated/), "to extend one's hands to punish, to punish." After that come frambesia and incurable festering boils. The cult powers cause these afflictions either independently and on their own initiative, or the cult powers are utilized in the performance of certain symbolic ceremonies with objects connected with their cult. If the Ngi is invoked, for

759 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of
[215] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana
[224] (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. okène I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfifdi, from a pfide, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

253 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, ekiñán I; verb, a kiñán), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

[184] Among the Jaunde the a pfifdi is unknown because the cults
[99] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

759 The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the eye he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[758] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[757] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. bey$\hat{a}$ a ndik III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
218 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edim) and Alsonia congensis Engl. (ekik) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (mat$\hat{u}$ mesih III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (elig), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (ekik, from a kiki, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Onclaria tessmannii Gilg (ndom ndik IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (ekik ekik III), "because the plant is bitter," and Sennochloana guineensis (Kuhn) Ust. (nkikeme III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Monocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvim) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (ebeg), Xylopia aethiopica Engl. et Diels (nkik), and an herb mā, leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Mansabanya (nkik-ebe I) dried, ground, and eaten.